/73 cont./

142 144 In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however, complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40 [145] [262] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance. [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however, [481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions.

/156 cont./

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/footnote 25 cont./ to work with the whites of the lower Rio Negro, without having sent any news. Upon returning, the meeting with his wife took place with the customary indifference on the bank of the river as he disembarked from the canoe. Inside the hut, however, after having presented him with the quinhapira /a fish dish/ and the beijú /manioc bread/, the wife, squatting beside the husband, opened up with these complaints: -- "O father of my children (yõ-põra-kõ), you have finally arrived. You were gone with the white very far away, very far away, and the mother of your children remained here alone, without having fish for the children, without being able to make a new clearing, abandoned, without clothes... Oh! How sad it is to live like this! How sad it is! (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, pp. 72-3).

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Although he laughs easily, he always receives the great joys or tragedies with a certain indifference. They do not know the kiss (26)

26. It also seems that words for kiss and embrace do not exist in the Tukano language. The term mĩ'mĩ, which Pe. Antônio Giacone records in his vocabulary as corresponding to kiss, actually means to suck. As a matter of fact, in the early days when they were taught to kiss some object, they sucked it, even when it was a matter of the priest's hand at a liturgical function.

or the embrace as a display of affection between parents and children or other relatives.

/255 cont./

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/footnote 6 cont./ the Witoto of Pirá-paraná (Colombia) the language of the Trocanos, made in pairs, that is, man and wife, according to the picturesque native expression, was quite well developed.

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With some musical instruments they manage to emit sounds that are similar to words. For example, with the instrument called Ñamá dõxpoá (deer head, cf. VII, 3 c (3) /see VII, 3 c (10)/), we seemed to hear the syllables -- "Pẽru wáatya" (bring caxiri) ... pẽru... pẽru... pẽru" (quickly, quickly, quickly).

[832]

The young men direct amorous invitations to the young women with the sounds of some fifes. We were given on the Uaupés (and for this reason we recorded it with the pronunciation of this river) the following invitation, which they express on the fife -- "Yõõ-mẽna váya" (go with me), -- "Yõõ-mẽna vágo-tá" (you just go with me), "afiunõ nĩgosa" (be good), "afiũnõ nĩhosa" (it is going to be good). To send out such invitations with the sound of the flutes is what is called in Tukano puxtĩ-weresã (literally: to complain by playing the flute).

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[123]

They likewise know how to emit certain characteristic and various cries, sometimes similar to the voice of animals and chirping of the birds, and they orient themselves, call one another, give information, etc., with these signals (7).

7. On a trip to the great maloca of the Tuyuka, on the upper Tiquié, frontier with Colombia, the machete that one of our traveling companions had loaned to the Indians disappeared. At the time for the canoe to leave, he asked about the machete and no one could give any information as to where it might be. Impatient, he complained that it was a theft, and this was wicked. After the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ canoe

/305 cont./

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6th. -- Varejeira. In Tukano it is called mõxtẽ-poro, which means precisely mosca-varejeira /blowfly/. It is a small flute of imbauba about 30 centimeters long, with a vertical orifice, as in general among the flutes. They play it in the intervals between the dances. The sounds imitate articulations of words, and thus the young men address sexual invitations to the young women. It is what is called puxtĩ-weresã, to complain playing the flute (cf. VII -- 1).

[832]

7th. -- Mawáko. Under this name come two different types of flutes: 1st) an imbauba fife, may reach up to a meter in length; 2nd) a small flute 12 to 15 centimeters long, with a side orifice, in the center, also of imbauba.

[835]

8th. -- There are various types of pipes or whistles that they use in the dances, whistling rhythmically in the intervals between the songs. One of them is of taboca, has the shape of a common pipe about 10 centimeters long, with the hole for blowing at the upper end, and it is used in the dance called wá'wa-ri baxsá (dance of the arumã head-piece).

Another, also of taboca, and of the size of the preceding one, but with the orifice in the center.

[835]

In other dances, instead of a whistle, each man carries a piece of cipo 20 or 30 centimeters in length, the bark of which comes off very easily, remaining as a sheath. Holding this sheath tightly with the left hand, and with the right one pulling the pith of /306/ the cipo, there results from the attrition a very shrill whistling. This whistle is called simĩõ-mi.

9th. -- Jabutĩ. It is prepared from the carapace of the jabutĩ /land turtle/, from which comes the name, úhuri in Tukano, dug out in such a way that the shell remains intact. Afterwards the holes are in part obturated with breu. The instrument is held tightly under the left arm, while the open right hand goes to rubbing with force the lip of the upper orifice; it will then emit a hoarse sound similar to that of the cuica /an amphibious rat/.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

*[192] They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75);

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

• [832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

789 During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
824 called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca)
*[192] to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.

There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

*[192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.
•[832]

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

821 1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger; if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
*[192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/383 cont./

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*[192]

/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

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About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the
291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered
302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts
834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt.
• [832] Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/384 cont./

836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

• [832] [515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

* [192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 836 [515] /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the women precedes that of the men and should be before the break of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

* [192] [278] The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 847 848 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare, although they know (110)

110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

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The ceremonial friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expectation of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their relationship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes.

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*.

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial friends: A man of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend.

The relationship between *hikū* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikū* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his

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walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of these is an extract of *ūwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *trimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *trimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *trimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *trimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *trimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavímiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

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773 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. According to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

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[833] In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
[302] have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."* The sexual allusion is well understood.

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773 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair. *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

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179 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
302 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, depilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

*The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pud*, and armpit hair is *pud butéi* (literally, hair tobacco).

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza.

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not quite sure whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* in Cubeo) has inherent qualities as a love charm – a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly – or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihí*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality.

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function"

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of the *unkúndye* then it should be said that it is the women who supply the charge that explodes the emotions and issues into the open.

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Because they are so much in the background during everyday life, compartmentalized in the manioc garden as in the house itself, women are strongly stimulated by the social heterogeneity of the *unkúndye* as by the inherent excitement of drinking, dancing, noise, and close body contact. The women's responsiveness seems to be spontaneous from the very beginning of the drinking party, whereas the men groom their emotions by stages, until at the end they are responding with a spontaneity of their own. The spontaneous emotional excitement of the women feeds into the emotional pool, so to speak, of the whole *unkúndye*. During the great mourning festival with its ritual eroticism this counterplay of men and their formal ceremoniousness and women and their emotional spontaneity leads finally to a unified response that is ceremony deeply charged with feeling. At the mourning ceremony this juxtaposition of male and female roles is very evident. And it is because of my observation of the mourning ceremonies that I have been led to see each drinking party in a similar fashion. In short, for the men the drinking party is collective and ritualistic; for the women it is individual and personal. In the end, these two roles are fused so that the aim of strong feeling within a formal setting is achieved. Perhaps it would be better to say overachieved, since the jealous quarrels that women provoke are sometimes serious, splitting sibs from one another and antagonizing close sibmates.

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Every drinking party that I ever attended ended in a quarrel. All quarrels were sexual, either provoked directly by jealousy or by disparaging remarks about a man's virility. The quarrels may lead to minor violence and may have no consequences. Sometimes, however, they stir up unexpectedly deep layers of feeling. A fresh affront recalls earlier offenses. These are aired. Before long the disputants have brought out a tangle of charges and countercharges revealing long smoldering issues. Men start a quarrel over an accusation of adultery. One man then comments that the father of the other had once said that he would not mind if his, the complainant's, sib were to die out. It is a remark of this nature that suddenly and chillingly transforms a simple quarrel into a later suspicion and then open accusation of sorcery, should someone sicken on either side.

The quarreling of men sounds more violent than it really is. If they are content to merely pummel one another with their fists there is little interference except that the women fret anxiously. Should they reach for dangerous weapons they are restrained and content

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section.

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The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dúpu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dúpu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dúpu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dúpu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully.

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The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*wei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhã*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yuvi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñikndwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.